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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

IN THE COOL OF THE EVENING.

In the cool of the evening, when the low sweet whispers waken,
When the labourers turn them homeward, and the weary have their will,
When the censers of the roses o'er the forest-aisles are shaken,
Is it but the wind that cometh o'er the far green hill?

For they say 'tis but the sunset winds that wander through the heather,
Rustle all the meadow-grass and bend the dewy fern;
They say 'tis but the winds that bow the reeds in prayer together,
And fill the shaken pools with fire along the shadowy burn.

In the beauty of the twilight, in the Garden that He loveth,
They have veiled His lovely vesture with the darkness of a name!
Thro' His Garden, thro' His Garden, it is but the wind that moveth,
No more; but O, the miracle, the miracle is the same!

In the cool of the evening, when the sky is an old story
Slowly dying, but remembered, ay, and loved with passion still,
Hush! . . . the fringes of His garment, in the fading golden glory,
Softly rustling as He cometh o'er the far green hill.

—*Alfred Noyes.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1920 Number 8

When one has been a long time dead
The spring will matter not so much
As when it came in days gone by,
In golden hours of fragrant youth.

The summer sky will not be blue
As in far other days, nor will
The evening be as sweet, nor dawn
Come up as in the long ago.

And yet I sometimes think the night
Holds nothing strange beyond our faith;
The dust that gives the daisy birth
May be at one with bird and sky.

James Waldo Fawcett.

"Not Germany alone, but the whole European continent has been beaten," writes Hermann Keyserling in the current issue of the *Atlantic Monthly,* speaking of the outcome of the Great War. So scathing is this author's indictment of "the real state of things" today, that it is amusing to notice that the Editor feels it advisable, in an introductory note, to explain that Mr. Keyserling "showed no pro-German sympathy during the war." But surely the Editor's alarm for his readers is quite unnecessary! The time has passed when any man can be accused of disloyalty for saying what the pacifists said from the very beginning of the European conflict. Everybody who thinks at all knows that the War was an unmitigated disaster—that it accomplished nothing save the destruction of one militaristic machine and the creation of another to take its place—that humanity and civilization have everywhere been overthrown by the appeal to arms. The iniquitous "Peace" is the perfect, as it was the inevitable, culmination of the War's abominations.

To-day, says Mr. Keyserling, we see "the increasing mobilization against the Allies of the very moral forces to which they owe, in great part, their material victory. * * * More and more members of the liberated small nations are beginning to wonder whether they are to be thankful for an emancipation which, in ruining their countries, has made every single one of their inhabitants a slave to the Entente. * * * The moral forces are going over in crowds to the other camps. * * * Initially, the Entente stood for the Ideals of the Age. Since Germany laid down her arms, the former has become untrue to them."

What wonder that, after such an analysis, which is as true as it is brave, the author asks whether we are faced by "peace, or war everlasting."

Universal military training is dead! The action of the House of Representatives, weeks ago, involved a postponement which threatened the collapse of the projects. Now this collapse has come much sooner than expected in the decisive defeat by the Senate of Mr. Wadsworth's revival of the idea. It is certain, to be sure, that the forces of reaction will have much to say, and say it loudly, during the next year. Representative Kahn, an incorrigible and able militarist, will bear much watching. Especially after the election, when the voters are powerless for two whole years, vigilance will be the price of safety. Nevertheless, so far as anything is certain at any one time, it is certain today that the scheme of universal military training is dead. And may this not be taken as a sign that other projects, forced upon us by the war and its aftermath, will similarly perish? Military training was of course destined to be the first abomination to go, if ever the American people were to save themselves from impending autocracy, for this system brought militarism knocking at the door of every home. But other evils, like denials of free speech and free assembly, consorship of the press, espionage, etc., all of them more remote but no less fatal in their influence, are certain to be found out, and speedily consumed by the wrath of a betrayed and outraged people. We have expressed before our confidence that the tide is turning in this country. The day of judgment is at hand for all who have used the terrors of war to destroy popular liberties!

We have not yet ceased to wonder at the protest against prohibition, voiced in the name of personal liberty, by a people who swallowed without a murmur the war, military conscription, the Espionage Act, the mail censorship, and other tyrannies of the last few years. Now that objection to the 18th amendment is developed even to the point of nullification, we are waiting patiently to see if the government will visit upon the liquor forces the same kind of merciless treatment which it has been so rigorously imposing upon pacifists, "conscientious objectors," Socialists, Communists, and the rest. Here, for example, is the leading paper of the Catholic Church of America, declaring that

"The 18th Amendment is the beginning of a policy which utterly destroys the ideals of liberty proposed by the men who founded this republic"; and then going on to say, "every priest will disobey cheerfully and with a tranquil conscience any law, State or Federal, which clearly infringes upon his rights and duties as a minister of Christ."

What is Attorney General Palmer going to do with this statement? Is he going to arrest and imprison these objectors against prohibition, as the War Department arrested and still imprisons objectors to military service? Is he going to outlaw the Catholic Church for its opposition to teetotalism as he has out-

lawed the Communist party for its opposition to capitalism? Or is he going to prove that there is one law for the man who objects to losing his glass of beer and another for the man who objects to taking human life? This is a nice question, A. Mitchell Palmer! What is your answer?

Our own position on the problem of "conscientious objection" has of course long since been made perfectly clear. We believe heartily in prohibition, as a necessary measure of social protection against the evils of one of the most terrible poisons that ever cursed mankind. A law against alcohol is as imperative as a law against opium, or the pollution of public reservoirs—and for the same reasons! But we believe also that the attitude of the Catholic priest is perfectly sound, and is entitled to the reverence and protection of government. It is to be noticed that the objection stated in the above quotation from the Roman Catholic journal is based on religious grounds. The 18th amendment, says the article in question, "at its easily feasible worst, makes the holy sacrifice a crime." To Protestants this may seem to be an extraordinary statement, but to the Catholic, with his sacramental idea of spiritual life, it is wholly understandable. If prohibition means the banishment of wine from the communion table, the priest must of course object, and refuse to give heed. And in so doing he will be justified, for, if we believe in religion at all, the law of God must always take precedence over all laws whatsoever of man. This principle will be recognized by government in this case, but why should it not also have been recognized in that infinitely more important case of conscientious objection to war, which touched not sacramental rites but basic issues of true spiritual idealism?

In speaking of "conscientious objectors" to war, it is well to remind ourselves that, on March 15th last, there were still 79 of these men held in prison by the War Department. Eight (8) were at that date in the military prison on Alcatraz Island, San Francisco; 68, in the war prison barracks at Fort Douglas, Utah; 2, in the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, and 1, in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. These are the last of the 450 sentenced to prison by courts-martial during the war. Why these men should be held, while all the others have been released, is one of the mysteries of governmental policy which has never been explained. The fact of the matter seems to be that the War Department has never had the courage to face this issue squarely and settle it consistently. Fearful of reactionary newspapers and the American Legion, it has shrunk from declaring a general amnesty, and thus releasing all objectors, as other belligerent governments have long since done. Fearful on the other hand of labor and of the latent possibilities of liberal opinion in this country, it has not dared to confine all the objectors to the limits of their barbarous terms of imprisonment, but has released them one by one on various pretexts. The Department's policy has throughout been one of opportunism, and thus has involved the maximum of aggravation and unfairness. Meanwhile, to secure the release of the 79 still behind the bars, is the first duty of all lovers of liberty and right. "Only vigorous protests, demands for release, and publicity will move the heavy machinery of official Washington," is the word of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In the *Christian Register* for April 8 appears an interview with Mr. Roger W. Babson, the famous business statistician, headed "If I Were a Minister." In the course of his remarks Mr. Babson deprecates the tendency shown by the modern minister to discuss all kinds of political, economic and social subjects.

> The task of the preacher, says Mr. Babson, is to manufacture and sell his particular line of goods; not the goods of * * * the politician, or the statesman, or the lawyer, *but his own.* Suppose I am looking for expert advice on the League of Nations. Do you suppose I am going to church on Sunday to get it? * * * No, sir, I'm going to a statesman who knows what he's talking about. If I want legal advice, I'll go to my lawyer. When a person must undergo an operation and is taken to the Massachusetts General Hospital, he expects to find there expert medical attendance. And when a business man goes to church * * * he ought to be able to find expert spiritual help.

This, in an interview six columns long—an interview not sought after but gratuitously offered—in which this eminent business expert tells the ministers how to manage their church affairs!! We have often been amused at the way in which business men, who resent any slightest intrusion upon the management of their offices or factories, make suggestion and even on occasion lay dawn the law to ministers as to what they shall preach in their pulpits, and how they shall run their churches. We have often wondered why it is that business men should know so much about churches, and churchmen know so little about business. Of course, if we wanted to invest in stocks and bonds, we would consult a broker. If we needed some expert statistical data, we would go to Roger W. Babson. But why should these men, who would silence our advice on their affairs, presume to offer *their* advice on *our* affairs? Is this not a case of "Physician, heal thyself"? And yet, strangely enough, the advice of the business man on certain aspects of the church, is very good! Mr. Babson's interview, in which he speaks so flagrantly in violation of his own precept, is a storehouse of wisdom and commonsense. The fact of the matter is, there is no form of business or professional work which can be shut off from the scrutiny and judgment of other men. There is no expert, whose knowledge and experience do not make his counsel valuable in other fields

than his own. Our human activities are not shut off from each other like safe-deposit boxes; they are interwoven like the cells of an organism. Mr. Babson is highly competent to speak on certain practical aspects of church administration; in the same way, is the clergyman highly competent to speak on certain moral aspects of political and economic affairs.

It is news, to be noted with gratification and envy on this side of the Atlantic, that Bertrand Russell has been restored to his former professional chair at Cambridge. His dismissal, it will be remembered, came during the war, on the issue of pacifism, and was accomplished by the old, stay-at-home dons, who undertook thus to display their patriotism by persecuting their colleague. Now that the war is over, the young Cambridge dons, who saw service at the front, have come back; and these it is who have insisted upon Bertrand Russell being restored to all his former privileges and honors. Here is one more illustration of the now familiar fact that it was the stay-at-homes in the war who did the hating, and the warriors, who hazarded their lives in battle, who were moved by understanding and generosity. It is this principle which explains the passion of cruelty which convulsed the American people after their entrance into the conflict, and still holds them today like a devouring fever. Imagine Harvard taking Roger Baldwin on to its faculty, as Oxford has taken Stephen Hobhouse; or Columbia restoring Prof. Dana to his former position, as Cambridge has restored Russell! Such magnanimity, or rather justice, is inconceivable in this country. Most of us are stay-at-homes—we never heard the guns of battle—we never met the Germans face to face. Hence a "war delirium," to use Shaw's phrase, unparalleled in any country in Europe! Today we are still proud of our madness; but the day is coming when, if we have any health in us, we shall hang our heads in shame for this period in our history.

Saints of the People

It is strange how little light has been shed in our secular literature on the economic and political thought of devout men who lived in the days when our race was young. Perhaps we do imagine our land and our notions of polity are too far removed from that ecclesiastical background which brings to the student of English history a fascination that will never fade. We lose much that is fundamental and noble in our tradition in neglecting the study of it. It is no very difficult task to trace the kinship of the thought and custom of the devout men of the sixth and seventh centuries with the ideals of English folk of our time, for speech and literature have carried the deep sense of the justice of their common law, the binding principles of their polity, without a break, all through the centuries. It is a refreshing experience to turn once more to John Richard Greene's first chapters in his "Short History of the English People," and dwell for a while with those brave fellows, reared in the institutions of the early church, who sang the songs of English freemen, and laid the foundations of just laws. To read of the invasion of England by Christian missonaries, is to live in those days again, and feel the spirit revive, taking on afresh the glow which came with the dawn of English freedom. And here is the secret of England's real strength: her common folk can turn from the stress and turmoil of bureaucracy and imperialism to that history, which records the struggle of fifteen hundred years, in which the people have, even in the darkest days of oppression, carried in their souls the bright light of their early law and custom, and in their minds the true sense of their sovereignty.

Who can resist the wondrous story of the early days? No scholar who has once read it can forget it, for there is not only the foundation of our literature to be remembered, but in it we find the real characteristics of English institutions, the secret of their durability. The story of Gregory seeing the English youths in the slave market of Rome, and his learning from the traders that they were Angles, is a poetic introduction to the mission of Augustine, and demonstrates so clearly what the work of religious conversion meant to the establishment of institutions whose fabric has weathered the storms of all economic unrest and political strife. Then there is the story of Cuthbert whose poetic sensibility wrought wonders in the northern land, and where from Cheviot to Lammermoor, from Yarrow to Solway, the land of border minstrelsy, the stories of his wanderings and the echoes of his lays come back to us mellowed in the works of the poets of the lowlands, and the Cumbrian lakes and fells. Caedmon of Whitby is a figure of irresistible charm. He was another shaper of our thought and aspiration, for did he not give to the religion that came from the East an entirely new setting, as Greene says, a "new grandeur, depth and fervor of tone"?

It seems almost impossible for anyone to appreciate what the struggle of English liberty has meant to the world, unless we have a knowledge of that story which is recorded by Greene in his first chapter. There is spread out for us in vivid review a background which contains all the vital strivings of our beginnings. Dunstan is a figure peculiar to English history. Greene says:

> "His nature was sunny, versatile, artistic, full of strong affections and capable of inspiring others with affections as strong. Quick-witted, of tenacious memory, a ready and fluent speaker, gay and genial in address, an artist, a musician,

he was at the same time an indefatigable worker, busy at books, at buildings, at handicraft."

In understanding what the work of these saints of the people meant to the English, we gain a truer knowledge of their power of co-ordinating the political and social aspirations of many tribes torn by terrible conflict; we learn the secret of the unifying power and influence of religion in bringing together the economic and artistic life of a people, and how from their customs there was laid the splendid foundation of their free institutions. Once we have grasped the significance and purpose of these mighty beginnings, we have no difficulty in appreciating the true values of the long struggle that followed the death of Dunstan, a struggle which has been waged between the people and their economic and political rulers to this day.

It may be worth our while recalling at this time the past from which the real America cannot dissociate herself. America is not wholly destitute of the work of those saints who derived their holiness from all that was beautiful and noble in the early struggles of a people who fought so long for economic liberty. Those whose eyes have not been dimmed by the glare of the gross materialism of "the sun of our imperial destiny," can see the real purpose of America fixed in true line, coming down all the centuries, from the beginnings of English history. The principles which animated the men who would have raised America upon a sure foundation, were those for which the English people have for thousands of generations suffered and bled. Let us not confuse these fundamental things with the expedients of our political idols whose real intention was to subvert every principle of English liberty in this country. America is not the only land in which false gods have been worshipped.

There is indeed much for us to learn from the past. And there are saints who have better counsel to give us, on economic, political and social conduct, than we receive from our highly paid counsellors. Lawyers, for instance, might turn with profit to such a counsellor as Edward the Confessor. Churchmen might derive inspiration from the Italians, Landfranc and Anselm. The following story is told of Anselm when he succeeded Landfranc in the direction of the Abbey of Bec, the great school of Christendom, in the eleventh century. "Force your scholars to improve!" he burst out to another teacher who relied on blows and compulsion. "Did you ever see a craftsman fashion a fair image out of a golden plate by blows alone? Does he not now gently press it and strike it with his tools, now with wise art yet more gently raise and shape it? What do your scholars turn into under this ceaseless beating?" "They turn only brutal," was the reply. "You have bad luck," was the keen answer, "in a training that only turns men into beasts." Assemblymen might revive an interest in Stephen Langton, the author of the Great Charter, the basis, as it is called, of parliamentary institutions. In the British Museum a copy of the Charter, tattered and stained, with the royal seal still attached, may be seen. Greene says:

> "It is impossible to gaze without reverence on the earliest monument of English freedom which we can see with our own eyes and touch with our hands, the Great Charter to which from age to age patriots have looked back as the basis of English liberty. 'No freeman,' ran the memorable article that lies at the base of our whole judicial system, 'shall be seized or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or in any way brought to ruin: we will not go against any man nor send against him, save by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.' 'To no man will we sell,' runs another, 'or deny, or delay, right or justice.'"

Somehow, in this process of looking back over a thousand years, there comes a feeling of humiliation that has the effect of driving one deeper into the past, so that we might escape for a little while from contrasts that are hard to endure.

Not all the saints of the people of those early days were canonized. Nevertheless, their memories have been enshrined in the hearts of the people. But there are numbers of canonized saints whose names have been given to many of the churches we pass day in and day out, but whose work and thought are somewhat obscured by the secular associations and activities which are clustering fast about the modern church itself. Of these saints there are some who might find it difficult at this time to get a hearing. St. Ambrose, as far back as the fourth century, asked questions which do not seem to occupy the minds of the ecclesiastics of our day. He asked, "How far, O rich, do you extend your senseless avarice? Do you intend to be the sole inhabitants of the earth? Why do you drive out the fellow-sharers of Nature and claim it for yourselves?" And his reply to these questions has a strange ring about it: "The earth was made for all, rich and poor, in common. Nature gave all things in common for the use of all; usurpation created private rights. The pagans hold earth as property. They do blaspheme God." The reason, perhaps, why such views are not popular in the church of our day is that the pagans have lost their hold on the earth, and no longer direct their blasphemy against God. There was another fourth century saint, St. John Chrysostom, who, in dealing with the same subject, said, "God did not make this man rich and that man poor from the beginning. Nor, when he created the world did he allot much treasure to one man and forbid another to seek any. He gave the same earth to be cultivated by all." St. Gregory

the Great, in the sixth century, the pope that sent Augustine to England, said, "The earth from which they have received is common to all men. They, therefore, wrongfully think they are innocent who claim for themselves the common gift of God." St. Cyprian, who lived in the third century, put the whole of this matter in a nutshell when he said, "God's footstool is not property." This crystal is acceptable to all the great fundamental economists, and it ranks in authority with that of Tertullian, the earliest of Latin fathers, born in the second century, who said, "The land is no man's property; none shall possess it as property."

There are no saints among us today, and perhaps it is just as well for the saints, but it is good to know that such men lived and held ideas they were unafraid to speak. Is it too late to revive an interest in the past, or are we so hemmed in by the complexities of our life, so tied, body and soul, to the unbeautiful ever-present, with our minds chained to the economic necessity of an existence which, in the light of the wonderful past, is all awry, that hope is gone with the loss of those values which are so precious to a thorough understanding of our great lineage? Let us hope not. There must survive in the soul of the common people all those fine elements which were with their sires centuries ago. All we need is for some simple man, with a mind close to nature, to come amongst us, and help to clarify our thought; a Dunstan, a Langton, a Tertullian, for only the simple man can touch the spring in us from which will flow once more the waters of understanding and love.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

TRUTH.

Man with his burning soul
Has but an hour of breath
To build a ship of Truth
In which his soul may sail,
Sail on the sea of death.
For death takes toll
Of beauty, courage, youth,
Of all but Truth.

Life's city ways are dark,
Men mutter by; the wells
Of the great waters moan.
O death, O sea, O tide,
The waters moan like bells.
No light, no mark,
The soul goes out alone
On seas unknown.

Stripped of all purple robes,
Stripped of all golden lies,
I will not be afraid.
Truth will preserve through death;
Perhaps the stars will rise,
The stars like globes.
The ship my striving made
May see night fade.

—*John Masefield.*

THE PULPIT

The Call of the New Crusade

By Rev. Vivian T. Pomeroy, B.A.

It was nearly a thousand years ago when the terrible series of wars raged—the wars called the Christian Crusades. Roughly speaking, those Crusades marked the half-way point between the time of Jesus and the present day. Men drew the sword and spilt torrents of blood to win the little spot of earth where the body of Jesus was supposed to be buried. And in Jerusalem, under the Banner of the Cross, unspeakable atrocities were committed. The best blood of Europe was drained generation after generation to take the tomb of Jesus from the hands of the so-called infidel. It is undeniable that there was plenty of religious enthusiasm about these Crusades; but it was morally blind. It led the world to no real and lasting good. All that savage slaughter was about an empty grave, called the Holy Sepulchre. What makes the whole thing so stupid and fruitless to our eyes is not merely that the sword was taken, but that the object of endeavor was, at best, the grave where the discarded body of love had been laid. With sword or with the open hand of peace the object was not worth a drop of blood or a heart-throb. It did not promise any real benefit to mankind and had no connection with the reign of God on the earth.

Now another thousand years have been added to the fate that is told by the life of humanity, and, as we survey what is politely named Christendom, do we not wonder whether we are any nearer the practice of the religion of Jesus than Europe was in those days when armies swept forward in his name to seize an empty grave? I believe we are a little nearer. If sometimes we tremble on the brink of despair, it is because we are beginning to be aware of the contradiction between our Social, National and International Standards and the teaching and spirit of Jesus. The church—if one can speak of the church as an individual body—still blesses the sword, but rather as an after thought. The blessing is given when the business has been set on foot. The church does not openly and deliberately initiate war and there is a growing uneasiness in the minds of people, both inside and outside churches, on account of the inclusion of the Christian religion in the baggage-train of armies.

I cannot see, however, that the church deserves much credit if we are a little nearer to understanding and incorporating the truth of Jesus in our social life. God takes care of his kingdom; and his constraint, exercised directly upon secular affairs, has broken down some barriers and bridged some gulfs which used to keep men apart. One may justly say that in spite of the doctrine of the church, there has been in what we call secular society a divinely inspired movement to the point where the law of mutual service is accepted as a sheer necessity. Jesus himself hinted that the children of this world might be wiser than those who consider themselves children of light. Arising out of the hideous chaos of the present, there is one great social hope. Even the statesmen are compelled to yield to it the tribute of their lips. It is the idea of an international community from which none shall be excluded. But it can-

not be claimed that this idea owes its rise to the bold co-operative thought and action of the church. The church may take it up and help to forward it, but only after a display of caution. And although the Christian Church in England in general was united upon the need of carrying on the "Holy Crusade" of the war against Germany, it is not now united upon any practical proposition which spells a happier future for mankind. Almost every pulpit in the land was unafraid of the politics of war in 1914. Almost every pulpit is now strangely silent about the politics of peace.

How sadly small among the nations known as Christian is, what I will call, the Comradeship of Jesus. There are many individuals, "whate'er their name or sign," who adore the name of Jesus and try in their private disposition and deeds to show forth his spirit. But in terms of social relationship, public justice and international good will, how little has been written of this message and will. Is it not abundantly proved by the present misery of the world that, unless we translate private and individual virtue into terms of social agreement, we shall not see the Kingdom of God? This was the purpose which Jesus set before us. This is the pathway along which he will lead us, if only we are ready to follow—the socializing of God's love; the realization of the Realm of the Father; the incarnation of Divine Truth in a wide-world community; the practice of religion in a fellowship of reconciliation and reciprocity. Nothing less than this is the destiny we have to serve with all our thought and loyalty and courage. I do not care what others may have taught in his name, even within the pages of the New Testament. I know that Jesus himself bade us judge our ways by the Kingdom of God and look to the kingdom as our first concern. It has taken us nearly two thousand years to realize that Jesus meant what he said; that he needed no apostle to improve upon his thought; and that *he was right*. The only sound and stable society rests upon foundations which Jesus outlined by his extraordinary wisdom and lit by the spirit of his life. All that is wholesome and beautiful and precious in the human world today—the loyalties of friendship, the affections of family, the degree of mutual trust in commerce, the promise of international peace which is not a preparation for new wars—is upheld by the principle which Jesus pointed to and described in words of unequalled force and clearness. The great and crying need of today is to extend these principles to the whole life and transactions of mankind. To carry on this extension is our joyful, dangerous privilege. It is the great commission. It is the call of the New Crusade.

Some may say this is no New Call. The Church has demanded that men should live according to the laws of the Kingdom, which are the Will of the Father in Heaven. The church is insisting upon this primary need today. I do not think so. It is just because I do not think so that I hope for the deliverance of the world from disorder, waste and woe. If for all these centuries the church, often occupying a position of dominating influence in human affairs, has taught the principles of Jesus and has sought the Kingdom as he saw it, then the task is baffling. For we find ourselves after all this time still surrounded by an order which is a denial of the God of Love. His fruits are not equity and joy, but enmity and misery. By its fruits let it be known. And there is no clash between organized Christianity and the Kingdoms of this world. Christianity is partner in the concern. The present order would not permit Jesus to live beyond his early manhood. It would crucify him—in some new way perhaps. It would silence him somehow. His challenge to existing ideas and institutions would be intolerable. But conventional Christianity is scarcely an inconvenience to things as they are, and the churches are mostly busy in saving themselves by huddling together for mutual warmth in face of the chilly indifference of the multitude. And what is the good of the Rev. Dr. Jowett pleading in Durham Cathedral for more "agonizing," when the only danger he was in was from the futile arrows of a few bigots within the church itself? If Christians are determined to agonize, let it not be by self-inflicted scratches, but by wounds in the Crusade against the present order which is organized infidelity to the genuine teaching of Jesus. Jesus suffered because he was a real danger. If anyone is in doubt as to the reason why the authorities desired to silence him and stop his influence, the doubt can be removed by a cool reading of "The Rival Philosophies of Jesus and of Paul," by Ignatius Singer (Allen & Unwin, London). The reader may find in this recent book many details inviting disagreement and a somewhat exaggerated hostility to Paul; but he will find, as I have found, something of the terrific challenge of the authentic mind and message of Jesus, and he will better understand why Jesus was crucified.

Much of the wrangling, the amiable expedients, the oratory and devotion of the church today are a dividing of the cast-off garments and an anxiety about the dead body of Jesus. Too long we have fought for a grave of the past instead of the kingdom of the future. We have allowed the incident of the death of Jesus to obscure the truth of his living mind —the truth for which he lived and died and lives still in the invincible soul of mankind. We must not mistake the incident for the main track; the means for the end. To Jesus in the last desperate days the cross was the means, not the end. If his chief intention had been to die without resistance, he could have done that earlier than he did. Malice surrounded him long before it finally grasped him with murderous hands. But he taught the venturesome truth; he lived that truth, and only met his death when there was no other way. *If he had preached the theology of the cross he would never have been crucified. He preached the spiritual and social ethics of the Kingdom;* that is why they hated him, and that is why we are beginning to make requital by a new reverence for his courage and a new understanding of his doctrine. It is not for us to talk about the cross; but only, if need be, to suffer upon it or on the equivalent as the price of declaring the truth of the Kingdom of God and the Commonwealth of Man. We are called to restore Jesus to the people.

. . . Christ the comrade comes again—no wraith
Of virtue in a far-off faith
But a companion hearty, natural,
Who sorrows with indomitable eyes
For his mistreated plan
To share with all men the upspringing sod
The unfolding skies—
Not God who made Himself the Man,
But a man who proved man's unused worth—
And made himself the God.

The New World. —*Witter Bynner.*

CONTRIBUTED

The Resurrection of Europe:
Review of Mr. J. M. Keynes' "Economic Consequences of the Peace"

By Rev. Stanley A. Mellor, Liverpool, England

Amongst the stage directions in that stupendous drama, "The Dynasts"—Thomas Hardy's poetic masterpiece—you may find this:

> The nether sky opens, and Europe is disclosed as a *prone and emaciated figure,* the Alps shaping like a backbone, and the branching mountain-chains like ribs, the peninsular plateau of Spain forming a head. Broad and lengthy lowlands stretch from the north of France across Russia like a grey-green garment hemmed by the Ural mountains and the glistening Arctic Ocean. * * * The point of view then sinks downward through space, and draws near to the surface of the *perturbed countries,* where the people are seen writhing, crawling, heaving, and vibrating, in their various cities and nationalties. * * * A new and penetrating light descends on the spectacle, enduing men and things with a seeming transparency, and exhibiting as *one organism* the anatomy of life and movement in all humanity and vitalized matter included in the display.

Imagination fashions a bird's-eye view of Europe today. It lies sprawled out over the earth's surface, a prone and emaciated figure, wretched, dispirited, here sunken in paralytic torpor, there convulsively starting with fevered and hysterical movements. Over its body crawl and heave masses of disease laden parasites—a plague of millions of lice carry typhus through the lands of Poland and the Ukraine—and along with them struggle other masses of parasitic misery, creatures that once were men, women and children—"vitalized matter," in Hardy's despairing phrase, "anatomy of life." And the whole of this Europe is *one organism,* indivisible: nations are its members, great cities its nerve centers. If one member suffer, then of absolute law and necessity all the members must suffer; if filthy disease and horrible sores devastate one part of the body, then no part can be healthy; if one nerve center atrophies, then paralysis and death threaten the whole. *One organism,* indivisible, with great part of it in the grip of famine, disease and social paralysis, with despair compelling experiments in wholly new forms of life, creeping upwards out of the desolating ruin of the old, decrepit body—that is Europe. One organism; and the hands cannot say to the feet we have no need of you; and if Italy or France or any other member of the stricken whole thinks to escape, or, still worse, shamelessly to make selfish gain out of the misery of the rest, it is a hopeless and sorry delusion.

Hardy wrote much in "The Dynasts" and elsewhere about the "Immanent Blind Will" that dominates and mocks humanity; and surely enough questions of God or Fate or that Immanent Blind Will do arise when great cities perish dismally in the night and the highways of art and science and religion are choked up with the funeral processions of innocent babies. Whither is Europe tending? Whither are we hastening under the lash of a plague—or is it the awful incitement of a promise? What can we do? Can we even *feel* in our hearts what is happening?

Mr. Keynes must have read Thomas Hardy with some care. On several occasions he refers to the Immanent Will—a Destiny beyond the control of any individual or group that has Europe in thrall. Read again the last pages of his great book—since great book it is, epoch making in the true sense.

"For the immediate future," he says, "events are taking charge, and the near destiny of Europe is no longer in the hands of any man." In whose hands is it, then? What menacing fate, or what mysterious hope, hovers over this prostrate, emaciated figure? "The events of the coming years," says Mr. Keynes again, "will not be shaped by the deliberate acts of statesmen, but by the hidden currents, flowing continually beneath the surface of political history, of which no one can predict the outcome."

That the current of events takes control is illustrated clearly enough each day, and most startlingly in these past few days; and even as I put these words down it looks very much as if one of the things which the power of the current of events is likely to give the world is a close knit group of armed, half-starved soviet republics stretching from the Rhine to the Pacific and from the Arctic Sea to the confines of India. It is as you choose—whether you view that possibility with anticipation of the spring or with terror of the night.

> The moving Finger writes, and having writ
> Moves on: nor all your pity nor wit
> Can lure it back to cancel half a line;
> Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

Let us not forget that Europe is one organism indivisible—and we are part of it. Let us not forget, too, that if indeed it be the case that the deeper current of events is really bent on fashioning new forms of life, the cost is horrible and appalling—because the work is being done on the basis of famine, disease, despair and incredible human suffering, by the following of a road marked indelibly with blood and tears—and again I say there are religious and metaphysical problems enough and to spare in this fact.

Mr. Keynes thinks that we have lost our power to feel: we cannot grasp what is happening or the manner of it. Conceivably it is just as well that we cannot—save for this, that lack of power to feel may mean spiritual apathy. Yet there is little that we can do. Oh, cursed spite! to live in such a world, and contemplate its future for one's children, and be so helpless! For the cup of trembling that the nations of this old world must drink is not yet full, and it must be drained to the dregs—and that man is but a fool and a coward who lulls himself or his fellows into any specious optimism or vain imagination that things will be better tomorrow. The fermenting misery of Europe—out of which, let us at least believe, the new world is being created—no words can describe it, and if words could describe it, no ears could endure to hear it, because hearts would break.

To us Vienna has become a symbol * * * Vienna, a great and beautiful city, center of art and music and literature, center of industry, center of science, whither men went to learn the best in every way that modern civilization could give—yea, also, and the worst, so typical was the city—Vienna beloved by many, in some ways the very crown of European civilization, as Athens was of Greece and Rome of the Great Empire, a city worthy to rank with these queens of antiquity, now going down slowly but surely into the darkness and the abyss, becoming derelict and waste, wrapping itself in the ironic rags of a proud, brave gaiety to hide its anguished and fam-

ine stricken body, and stalking away off the European stage to the accompaniment of children too hungry to weep.

Vienna is a symbol. Is it the sign of the downfall of a civilization? Perhaps it is. And Vienna is not alone. Europe is one organism, indivisible. Vienna is not far from Berlin; not far from Florence and Milan; not far from Paris; and a strip of ocean twenty-one miles wide separates Paris from London; and, God knoweth, the ages of misery and decline can be prolific in symbols.

Men may ask why these things are as they are. Probably no human mind can answer fully. The causes are many and varied and deep; but evidently above all stand out the war and that which followed the war; and some things are clear enough. At least they are clear to minds that have escaped the narrow limits of hatred and ignorant, crude passion, minds that can feel and care at all in terms of historical perspective and imagination, minds that have been touched to the illumination of an international, human consciousness.

It is clear that war between modern nations is civil war, war in one family, fratricidal strife, brother slaying brother, that the sin in its after agony may be visited upon the children of both alike. It is clear, too, that many men may die in vain.

> The many men so beautiful
> And they all dead did lie.

Clear, too, is it that victory may be a word of ghastly omen; clear, too, that war begins when the fighting is finished. But more clear, perhaps, than anything else is this, that when the fighting and slaughter ceased in the Great War—as men call it—two problems and two only really mattered in the life of the peoples of Europe; and the first of these problems was the healing and restoration of a wounded and very largely shattered social and economic existence, and the second was the fearless stepping out upon the construction of an *international* polity, an *international* society, recognizing the one organism of Europe and dealing with it as one; no more ententes, alliances, defensive and offensive groups—that should have been the order of the day. Most men can see it now! Those were the two great problems, in comparison with which all questions as to who began the war and why, all questions of punishment, offended justice, moral wrath, retribution, and such like—reparation even—became subsidiary and relatively insignificant.

How the accredited statesmen of Europe and America failed to face these two major problems, what minds they brought to the task, what vision and what imagination, how the greatest issues became lost in a tangle of competing, selfish policies, extreme nationalistic desires and endeavors, secret engagements, delusive hopes of gain, fears, cynicisms, jealousies, weaknesses of will, hypocritical opportunism, and so forth; all this you may learn, probably have learned already, in Mr. Keynes' book, and especially in that much discussed third chapter entitled "the Conference"—which some say ought never to have been published, which others recognize as the most penetrating and illuminative piece of psychological history that we have had or are likely to have for many a long day. "My last and most vivid impression" of the Conference, says Mr. Keynes, "is of such a scene—the President and the Prime Minister as the center of a surging mob and a babel of sound, a welter of eager, impromptu compromises and counter compromises, all sound and fury signifying nothing, on what was an unreal question anyhow, the great issues of the morning's meeting forgotten and neglected; and Clemenceau silent and aloof on the outskirts—for nothing which touched the security of France was forward—throned, in his gray gloves, on the brocade chair—dry in soul and empty of hope, very old and tired, but surveying the scene with a cynical and almost impish air; and when at last silence was restored and the company had returned to their places, it was to discover that he had disappeared." In Hardy's drama to which I have referred before the chorus in the tragic piece consists of the spirits of Pity, Mercy, Sympathy. In this act at Paris, where the restoration of a broken civilization and the building of a world fellowship should have been wrought out, the chorus, and also more than the chorus, the dynamic of the piece, seems to have been constituted by mocking, cynical, impish demons, clad in robes of nationalistic pride and fear, opportunist hypocrisy, and blind obstinacy—academic virtue—"dry in soul and empty of hope, very old and tired," and withal wearing gray gloves—gray is the color of night in which all things are blurred! I cannot think of Vienna without thinking of those gray gloves. And another figure must be added to the four horsemen of the Apocalypse.

You have read this book, or if not you will read it. Whatever you may think about its truth in detail or its suggestions, the outstanding fact emerges with absolute undeniable certainty—that the great problems which should have been faced were not faced, that idealism was driven forth and cynical selfishness held sway.

Today of course it is recognized all the world over that the Treaty there concocted cannot stand. After all, perhaps, it *is true,* as Carlyle was forever preaching, that in this world nothing that is morally corrupt at heart *can* endure for long—and the Treaty was poisoned at its core. Already it is inanimate; even its only begetters recognize that fact and display a tardy repentance. To this end Mr. Keynes' book contributed considerably; for that book induced and focussed a new sense of international urgency and responsibility and statesmanship, before which, and the actual unfolding of events, the Treaty was bound to go under.

But, though the Treaty becomes a dead letter, as it inevitably will, it has already wrought its fatal, evil work, most evil in this that, instead of planting hope in the hearts of the European peoples and lifting the enslavement of chaos, it planted despair and spiritual apathy and made the chaos more chaotic—substituting for the beginnings of the fabric of peaceful order only a howling waste of warring and hopeless dismembered atoms. Other causes co-operate, of course, and it would be folly to lay all the blame for the present awful plight upon the Treaty and its framers. Nay, conceivably, as I have said more than once, the course of the war itself and the extraordinary upheaval in Russia together let loose upon European civilization, for weal or woe, perchance for ultimate weal through present excess of woe, forces which not even the wisest and most idealistic statesmanship of an older day could have controlled or prevented from their destined end.

However, Treaty or no Treaty, there is the outstanding fact—the absolute, imperative needs of European life are today as untouched and as unmet as

they were on the day of the armistice, and until they are met and solved there is no hope for the old world. Recall once more what those needs are: the restoration of some settled form of social and economic life throughout the length and breadth of Europe, and the construction of an international policy. Europe is one organism; she must live and function as such, or perish. That is simple enough; daylight clear. Whilst these needs remain unsatisfied, everything else is relatively indifferent and insignificant. A little apparent prosperity in one part of Europe—say, with us in England—a boom in trade, or anything of that kind must not deceive us; it will pass away; if Vienna starves, we cannot live; if Europe lapses into deeper chaos, our imperial prosperity is an illusion.

And what is more—these two great problems are the testing points of all statesmanship and of every social system and social policy in this present hour. That statesmanship which can meet these needs—restore Europe and build an international polity—controls the future; that social system or social policy which proves itself able to cope with these same needs and problems is the social system and policy which will dominate existence in days quickly to come. And this thought brings me to my final words, and also to that part of Mr. Keynes' book which it seems to me most reviewers have overlooked though it is the most important. Mr. Keynes clearly sees the needs of Europe as the testing point of statesmanship and social policy; the question on which his great book ends is simply this—can the order, the methods, the institutions, and the statesmanship of capitalistic, industrial civilization, out of which the war arose, rise to the present occasion and meet these needs and demands? Or is what is everywhere happening the final proof that the old order of civilization is dead because already incapable, perishing because it cannot do the work demanded of it?

Mr. Keynes does not preach; he has no interest in preaching. Coldly he analyzes the capitalistic civilization of Europe before the war and today. His analysis is fascinating and deeply significant. He sees the whole problem, of course, primarily in economic terms—the restoration of productivity, the restoration of free, international commerce, the repairing of the broken circle of production and exchange. Into all this we cannot here and now follow him. But, unless I utterly misunderstand him, his final conclusion is clear enough: it rings like a knell of doom, or perhaps like the bells that herald the dawn, through the last pages of the book. *He does not believe in his heart* that capitalistic civilization—in its economic and industrial and political methods—is adequate to the task. Whatever else may or may not bring about the resurrection of Europe, the old order of civilization is incompetent to the work. Its methods and its statesmanship are bankrupt; it has nothing more to give humanity. Mr. Keynes sees it now stricken by fear, varying only between hysterical appeals to violence, which after all can never fight against two things, chaos and ideas, and the skulking retreat into narrow, unimaginative selfishness. Coldly he announces doom. The governments of Europe, that is to say the capitalist, bourgeois governments, he says, "are fast rendering impossible a continuance of the social and economic order of the nineteenth century" * * * the capitalist class are allowing themselves "to be ruined and altogether undone by their own instruments, governments of their own making, and a press of which they are proprietors." And he adds most significantly: "Perhaps it is historically true that no order of society ever perishes save by its own hand. In the complexer world of Western Europe the Immanent Will may achieve its ends more subtly and bring in the revolution no less inevitably through a Klotz or a George than by the intellectualisms, too ruthless and self-conscious for us, of the philosophers of Russia." The "Immanent Will" again, you notice! When, in my humble way, I declared that the war and the aftermath of war meant nothing other than the final fall and dissolution of a system of civilization, someone said that I suffered from the lurid nightmare of a pessimist. I uttered doom because I believed that the system of civilization concerned was and is morally and spiritually corrupt. Here is the most competent economist of his day, aware of all the economic facts, telling us that the system perishes and must perish because it is *economically* corrupt and incapable—it cannot do the work needed by our life! That verdict rests on economic grounds and is supported by purely economic facts—it is the point of central significance in Mr. Keynes' book. When in his last chapter Mr. Keynes turns to speak of "remedies," we feel already that some of the things he suggests are being rendered impossible, and, if possible, then useless, by the fatal current of events rushing on so swiftly as it does, but behind and beneath and prior to all possible and effective remedies lies the conviction, again clearly spoken, that only a new ordering of society in toto can meet the case or furnish the remedies.

> The forces of the nineteenth century have run their course and are exhausted. The economic motives and ideals of that generation no longer satisfy us: we must find a new way and must suffer again the malaise, and finally the pangs, of a new industrial birth.

What, then, must we finally say? As one closes this book, the sense of despair is apt to be strong; but the word on which mankind must concentrate is not death but resurrection. A social system, a whole civilization, crumbles visibly away to ruin. That is the bedrock fact. The old order cannot be restored, cannot restore itself, and *ipso facto* cannot restore anything else. To the accompaniment of apparently inevitable pain, misery, suffering and chaos the fabric drops away; over three-fifths of Europe only its ruins remain, and Europe is one organism, and unless the old system can heal this death in itself it cannot survive anywhere. We live at the end of a chapter—in the death agonies of one civilization and the birth pangs of another. Sympathy with tragic suffering and misery should not blind us to the elements of hope—real though passionately painful—in that very situation, nor obscure our vision of the possibility of resurrection. That possibility does not lie along the road of the old order. Whether yet we can fully discern the road along which it does lie is another question; perhaps we cannot; perhaps there are signs. But this is certain, that the way of resurrection will be tested and tried in the hard practical world by one test alone—its power to make Europe into an international polity, its power to enable Europe to exist and function as one organism, and its power to restore to that organism a settled, orderly, happy and productive economic life. It is remarkably significant that the leaders of Russia have sensed this fact all along. Certain practical counsels

follow from this; counsels which believers in the future and framers of social, economic and industrial systems should note well. It is not your domestic policies, your local programs, your little national and parochial changes that will test your system and reveal whether it is the true one for mankind—it is the ability of your system to cope with the problems of international life. The new order of society and the new civilization, whatever they are, will be fully international, *and cannot be less.* So then a labor movement, or any democratic, progressive movement, which lacks the international spirit, inspiration, and mind, which does not propose to solve its international and its national problems *together and in the same way,* which indeed is not willing to forego certain apparently more immediate claims and aims for the sake of the larger international possibility—such a movement is useless and hopeless for our need and our time and has no place in the future—whilst the individual on platform or in pulpit who today chatters *merely* domestic and parochial politics is little other than a fool. We must think and build for humanity, for the international life of Europe first of all, or our thinking and building will be in vain.

To all of which we add, as men say, *verbum sap*: So does our sense of the tragedy of western mankind come down to a fine point, which any individual can take and reflect upon and apply in his own thought and action for the days of trouble that lie ahead—through which we must pass to reach the Dawn.

I set out to review a great book. There is much more I might say, but I must leave it at that. I believe that the will of man can aid the current of events; that in the current of events a mighty spirit is working—a new creation groaning and travailing, with awful pain and sacrifice—but destined to prevail—and in so far as in me lies I would do what Mr. Keynes says is the best work anyone can do, help to instruct the will of man to understand what that travailing mighty spirit is, what its aim and goal, and to co-operate fully with it—through every pain and every pang to the clear shining of the Light.

FENCES.

Fence-posts,
Soldiers,
Keeping out what?
From where?

O for an end of fences,
O for an opening of the earth
Free from the rich,
Free from the poor,
For flowers
And for men!

But that can only come
When you shall know,
And be glad to know,
That I am as good as you,
That you are as good as I,
And that in proving otherwise
By fence-posts,
By soldiers,
There is no heroism
And no proof.

The Freeman. —*Witter Bynner.*

SELECTED

Uniformity in Education

"I have read," writes S. Miles Bouton, "with keen interest your column in yesterday's *Tribune.* It points out—although erring, I think, on the side of moderation—a grave and even dangerous tendency of American educational methods.

"I returned to America last spring with my two boys, one in his twelfth, the other in his tenth year. The elder had attended school in Berlin two and a half years, the younger one and a half years, and both had attended school in Sweden (Stockholm) two years. They have been attending the local schools since the beginning of this school year. I have thus had a rather unusual opportunity to compare the educational systems of the two European countries with that of America.

"I have been astounded and shocked at what is being done with my boys in the American school. The whole course of their training is toward what you so aptly term 'large-scale production.' The Prussian schools sought to inculcate uniformity of ideas as to a certain narrowly limited class of subjects, but there was a wide field in which students were encouraged to wander and seek truth for themselves. Here any tendency to depart from orthodoxy in respect to anything is rigorously crushed out. All ideals and ideas are furnished ready-made, and the student is expected to accept them. The effect of this kind of training is already becoming apparent. Both my boys (I am sure this is not a father's bias) were strongly original thinkers when I brought them across, speculative, inclined to form their own judgments and possessing distinct individualities. They are gradually becoming mass-thinkers, afraid to have ideas different from those of 'the other fellows,' and their verdicts, ideas and ideals are rapidly becoming merely those of their teachers, who, again, have taken their own ideas and ideals from the powers that be in our educational system. Neither Prussia nor Sweden (nor yet Denmark, whose educational system I also know fairly well) does this sort of thing to its children.

"The American school is not even content with putting a uniform upon the children's minds in educational matters. The teachers feel that it is their province and duty—and it probably is—to strengthen the American's uneasy inherited feeling that anything regarded by the community as a vice is necessarily a crime, and that 'there ought to be a law about it.' So far my boys' natural common sense and their acquaintance with different peoples still fortify them in their contemptuous refusal to be impressed by their teachers' daily homilies against sinners who drink beer or smoke, but I fear the ultimate effect of this insidious and deadening mass training.

"In the matter of pure education the American school is far behind the schools which we know abroad. The children have much less earnest work to do, and this despite the fact that a five-day week ought to permit them to work at least as hard as the European children have to work for six days of every week. Languages, an essential of broad culture, are not taught in the grade schools, and but imperfectly in the high schools. Arithmetic appears to be the single subject taught as thoroughly here as in Europe. I think I know why, but refrain from naming the reason.

"I am certain that the reason for the continuance

of the war hysteria in America is to be sought in this mass training of our schools. The victim of years of this sort of thing cannot so easily shake off the fear of being different 'from the other fellows.' He tends to go with the crowd, to cheer when he hears the megaphone.

"I should object to it if I were convinced that all the ideals poured into the children's minds were correct ideals; I object to it the more because at least one of these ideals is, I believe, false and terribly dangerous. You have referred to the people who want to Americanize England. Let me quote three utterances by different speakers:

" 'No. 1—God has called us to civilize the world; we are the missionaries of human progress.'

" 'No. 2—It is our high mission to teach our ideals to the peoples of all the world.'

" 'No. 3—God insists that the American principles of democracy and right shall be planted in the whole world.'

"Personally, I find one of these as offensive as the other. Indeed, I can see no difference in the sentiment. No. 1 is a quotation from a speech made by Kaiser Wilhelm at Bremen in 1905. No. 2 is from a speech by a prominent educator of this city. No. 3 is from a speech made last week by one of the city's leading clergymen.

"This is the sort of thing that is being forced upon our children. It is the sort of thing that made Deutsche Kultur have an unpleasant sound in the ears of the rest of the world. I have heard the same sort of sneering references made in various European countries to 'American idealism.' I cannot help believing that if our ideals are superior to those of all the rest of the world the children can be safely trusted to find that out, provided they receive a proper education. But I object damnably to this manner of treating my boys like molten ore, to be poured into the same mold with 'the other fellows' and come out in the same form."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

FAITH

Tonight is black with all uncertainty;
Tomorrow dawns perhaps or foul or fair;
Thine is not to declare what it shall be
Nor yet for that tomorrow to prepare,
For with the coming of a new day's dawn
May be unrolled a wondrous destiny,
Or when the midnight darkness is withdrawn
Failure may rain from out a leaden sky.

Little we know the blessings God may send,
Little we guess the substance of his wrath,
Yet led by faith to some diviner end
We struggle slowly on the upward path.
We doubt, we falter, yet one truth is known:
The ways of faith lead to the God-head's throne.

LUCIUS M. BEEBE.

Tolerance is a by-product of democracy, professing the same doctrine and subject to the same limitations. The essence of democracy is not equality, but equality before the law. The essence of tolerance is not doubt, but charity and a sense of fair play. The vice of the bigot and the despot is not certitude, but a refusal to hear both sides of the case. Freedom of thought no more implies an approval of heresy than freedom of action implies an approval of crime. Everyone has a right to a hearing, just as everyone has a right to a chance in the world; but truth and worth are, none the less, solemn and detached realities which nothing can controvert.

The Atlantic Monthly. —*F. Lyman Windolph.*

NEWS FROM EUROPE

Culled From *The Manchester Guardian*

The Return of Strauss.

It is refreshing to find that Strauss has been added to the number of foreign composers whose works are now being heard in England.. Wagnerian compositions were played in London throughout the war.

Strauss was reinstated in our programmes on Saturday afternoon, when Sir Henry J. Wood's orchestra played for the first time since August, 1914, the symphonic poem "Don Juan." There was no mistaking the manifestation of delight which greeted the performance, and Sir Henry Wood and his orchestra came in for a perfect ovation. Thus the last restriction but one put by the war on music vanishes, and if the reported engagement of Mme. Dux should be confirmed pre-war conditions will prevail before long.

There will be, however, a more critical attitude on the part of the public towards modern German music, and this will be all to the good if that attitude is dictated by artistic motives. British music will not suffer because German music will get what is due to it. During the war British composers and executants proved their claim to a hearing. What they have gained they will never lose. On the contrary, the rivalry ought to give new impetus to native talent.

Friends Fall Out.

Since the war quarrels seem to be the order of the day—not amongst the enemy countries only, but amongst those who were supposed to be friends and allies.

The agitation over the question of the final distribution of the captured ships among the Allies, by which France may be called upon to deliver up a great part of those she held provisionally, has been intensified by widely circulated manifestoes from the Federation of French Merchant Marine Officers.

This document, a further version of which was published this morning, protests against the supposed Wilson-Lloyd George agreement, and demands that the ships should be divided not according to the losses on the seas during the war, but according to the total war losses, and declare that they will oppose by every means in their power the handing over of the ships in question.

Prohibition.

It is interesting to find that prohibition is not a national question only, but an international one.

The organization to which Mr. W. E. Johnson belongs is not the only one which is preparing a world-wide prohibition propaganda. The World Prohibition Federation, which was founded in London in 1909 by representatives of forty nations, and of which Mr. Guy Hayler, the temperance veteran, is president, is holding a one-day international conference in Copenhagen on July 31. Prominent representatives from Denmark and Finland will report on the prohibition movement in Scandinavia, Finland, Russia, and Esthonia. A proposal will be made by Dr. Legrain, of Paris, to form a Continental committee in connection with the Federation. In September another World Prohibition Federation conference will be held in Washington. "The world-view of the prohibition cause is most inspiring," says the president of the Federation.

John Dillon, M. P., on Ireland.

Ireland seems to be a burning question just now. Mr. Dillon is well able to speak for her. The following is his answer in response to a request for his opinion on the text of the new Irish Government Bill:

I do not consider that the introduction of this bill is a sincere or honest attempt to settle the Irish question, and I therefore see nothing to be gained by attempting to discuss the details. To us in Ireland it appears that the Government, in introducing this, has only two objects in view—to deceive the American people and to furnish themselves with a plausible excuse for repealing the Act of 1914. They will fail to achieve either of these objects. The Irish Executive has already let loose chaos in Ireland. The introduction of this bill will add a new element to exasperation and make confusion worse confounded, if that be possible.

Our New Ambassador.

As an ambassador Sir Auckland Geddes will enjoy more privileges than as a Cabinet Minister, but not more than he could have enjoyed by sticking to his original profession. When distributing the prizes at the Middlesex Hospital some years ago, Mr. Kipling told the students that doctors belong to the privileged classes. "One privilege they share with kings. Policemen would not prosecute them if they exceeded the speed limit on their cars. A visiting card would take them through the densest, most turbulent crowd. By flying a yellow flag they can turn a centre of population into a desert, and by flying a red flag they can turn a desert into a centre of population towards which men, as I have seen them, will crawl on their hands and knees. They can forbid any ship to enter any port in any part of the world, and, for the success of any operation in which they are interested, can, if necessary, stop in mid-ocean the fastest Atlantic liner with her mails. They can tie up traffic, and without notice order houses, streets, and whole quarters of a city to be pulled down, calling, if need be, on the nearest troops to see that their prescription is carried out."

From the Pocket of One into the Pocket of the Other.

From Nassau, Bahama, we learn the following:

Prohibition in the United States, which caused enormous quantities of wines and spirits to descend almost like an avalanche upon this city, has transformed the Bahamas Government's financial condition as if by magic from a deficit to comparatively a huge surplus, provided labour for large numbers of unemployed Bahamans, and put more money in circulation in this little British Colony than has been the case for many years. Sir William Lamond Allardyce, K. C. M. G., Governor of the Colony, who has been promoted to be Governor of Tasmania, made this known officially yesterday in an address formally opening the 1920 session of the Bahamas Legislature.

Original estimates of the Colony's revenue for the year were £74,471 and expenditure £105,276, which would have left a deficit of £30,805. With the banishment of wines and spirits from the United States upon the advent of prohibition, Nassau became one of the havens of refuge for wet goods, being one of the nearest foreign ports outside Canada and Mexico. Several vessels brought full cargoes, and the duties from these wines and spirits have restored the Bahamas Government's fallen fortunes from a dreaded deficit to a surplus three times the size of the expected deficit.

By the end of the financial year it is expected the total revenue will reach £217,034, while the Colony's estimated expenditures will be about £106,616, which would leave a surplus of about £110,418. In addition, a surplus of about £100,000 annually, during the next two years at least, is expected from duties when the wines and spirits now in bonded warehouses are taken out.

Arrival of the wine and spirit laden vessels from the United States resulted in an abnormal demand, not only for stevedores, but for a large number of skilled and unskilled labourers, owing to the immediate erection of commodious sheds as bonded warehouses. Even women and boys found employment rolling barrels of wines and spirits from vessels to warehouses.

The windfall may figure in reducing the cost of living in the Colony, which would be welcomed by everyone. With the increased revenue, Governor Allardyce said, the question of reducing the tariff on the necessities of life might be considered by the legislature.—*Reuter.*

Russia's Peace Offers to the United States, Japan and Rumania.

An official wireless message from Moscow gives us the following news:

Three notes have been despatched by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, M. Chitcherin, to the Governments of America, Japan, and Rumania proposing the opening of peace negotiations.

The first of these notes, addressed to the United States, points out that, as is indicated in Marten's reports, American commerce and industry will greatly help the work of reconstruction of Russia's economic life. Thus an agreement between Soviet Russia and America will profit both sides, and both will reap important benefits.

The second note, despatched to the Japanese Government, mentions earlier semi-official pourparlers that had taken place between the Soviet Government and the Japanese Ambassador, and proposes to renew the negotiations on the basis of the special economic and commercial interests of Japan in the Far East, with a view to an agreement that should be satisfactory to both sides. It is hoped that the Japanese expeditionary corps, the presence of which has had such nefarious results and against which the opposition in Japan itself is incessantly increasing, will be at an early date withdrawn from Siberia.

The third note, addressed to the Rumanian Government, proposes to settle amicably all outstanding questions, including those of territorial relations, by way of peaceful negotiations.

Nothing to Hide.

A Moscow wireless message, referring to the discussions of the Russian problem by the Supreme Council, states that as regards the proposal to send a mission to Russia for the purpose of gathering information as to the real situation in the country the Soviet Government has no objection whatever to this scheme.

Germany's Threat to Go Bankrupt.

The Berlin correspondent of the "Journal" reports, on the strength of information imparted by a high official personage, that the German Government is now engaged upon the preparation of a memorandum dealing with economic matters which it is proposed to hand to the Allies before the 10th of May next.

In the course of this memorandum it is maintained that a minimum loan of 42,000,000,000 gold marks should be granted to Germany until the beginning of next autumn, that a modification of the regime in the occupied Rhine territory should be granted, and that in the event of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia not resulting in Germany's favour Germany would find herself faced with the necessity of having to discontinue immediately all deliveries of coal to France.

The correspondent's informant added in conclusion that if the justice of these demands is not recognized Germany will proclaim her bankruptcy.—*Reuter.*

From Liberal to Labor.

Mr. George Cadbury, Jr., in resigning from the Liberal Association states as his reason that he finds himself attracted to the Labor Party, which has a definite program of reform, and which is in living contact with the needs of the people.

With regard to foreign affairs he says, I believe the Labor Party is the only party at the present time which takes a wide view of our duty to the peoples of Europe, and the native races in other parts of the world.

Plebiscite Police.

Considerable astonishment has been caused in French official circles by the statement presented to the Supreme Council by the British Government to the effect that Great Britain will be unable to provide her quota of troops required for duty in the areas where plebiscites have to be taken. It is stated that Italy has taken similar action, and that the duty of policing the districts while the plebiscites are in progress will eventually have to be undertaken by France alone.

It is not known what reasons have necessitated this course of action on the part of Great Britain, but it is thought it may be due to the necessity of maintaining garrisons elsewhere.

Miss Rankin and Lady Astor.

The first woman M. P. made her maiden speech on the subject of drink. The first woman member of Congress made her maiden speech on the subject of food. It was during the discussion of one of the Food Bills of the war period that Miss Jeannette Rankin first claimed a hearing from the House of Representatives. She did more than secure its attention. She obtained its approval of an amendment, proposed by herself, providing that the services of women should be utilized so far as practicable in a survey that was about to be undertaken of the national food resources. The scene in Congress when Miss Rankin made her debut must have been similar to that in the House of Commons on Tuesday night. Members poured in from the lobbies to listen to her, and she was loudly applauded both on rising and at the end of her speech.

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

There are more political prisoners in prison today than at any previous time in our history. The Government refuses to recognize any prisoners as "political," holding that all have committed criminal acts. As a matter of definition, political prisoners have always been held to be those imprisoned for expressions of opinion on public matters. All of those described here come within that definition. In no case was there evidence of injury to person or property. In no case is there reason to suspect any motive except the desire for human betterment. In every case the substance of the prisoner's crime was simply that he said what he believed to be true.

The exact number of federal and state political prisoners at any given time is impossible to figure with accuracy. The number is constantly changing. Judging from official reports, from press clippings, and reports of the organizations directly involved (like the Socialist Party and the I. W. W.) we give the following general estimate of persons in prison, or convicted and out on bail pending appeal:

1. Under the Espionage Act, the acts penalizing threats against the President, and conspiracy to obstruct the war or draft act 600
   (a) Socialist Party members 27
   (b) Members of the I. W. W. convicted in three federal cases charging conspiracy to obstruct the war..... 166
   (c) All others 407

   NOTE:—The Attorney General's report up to June 30th, 1919, shows 877 convictions under the Espionage Act.
2. Under state sedition and criminal syndicalism acts (chiefly members of the I. W. W.)..... 900
3. Conscientious objectors in military and civil prisons..... 79

Total 1,579

(Hundreds of cases under state criminal syndicalism acts are coming to trial. 846 members of the I. W. W. were recently arrested in the State of Washington alone.)

In addition several hundred aliens have been deported and several thousand are held for deportation solely for expressions of opinion on political or industrial subjects or for mere membership in an organization. These are practically all members of the I. W. W., the Union of Russian Workers, the Communist and Communist labor parties or, in a few cases, anarchists.

In the military prisons over two thousand men are serving sentences for purely military offenses. Most of these men were drafted. While they are not political prisoners in the sense that their imprisonment is due to expressions of opinions on political or economic subjects, they are a product of conscription and militarism.

During the war thousands more were in prison, mostly for short terms. Hundreds were arrested under city ordinances for the expression of their views. 28,544 were arrested under the draft act, of whom 14,249 were convicted and sentenced in the civil courts. The organizations which suffered most during the war were those in sharpest conflict with commercial interests, particularly the I. W. W., the Non-Partisan League and the Socialist Party.

The sentences in many of the cases ran from five to twenty years. These were chiefly under the Espionage Act. The sentences in the state criminal syndicalist cases are from two to ten years. The original sentences of conscientious objectors, averaging fifteen years, were all reduced to an average of two to three years. All but a few expire in 1920.

The Federal Government has reduced or commuted the sentences in 103 Espionage Act cases, the selection being guided by obscure motives of personal preference. Despite considerable agitation for a general amnesty, there is yet no indication that the Government will act on the remaining cases. Indeed there is strong opposition to any amnesty for members of the I. W. W., who make up fully one-third of the federal prisoners —(and two-thirds of the total, including state cases). This opposition is based, not on their acts, but on their presumed philosophy.

In each case an exercise of executive clemency by the President is necessary to secure release before the expiration of sentence. The War Department makes recommendations to that end in the cases of the conscientious objectors; the Department of Justice in the cases of other offenders. All state cases are, of course, exclusively in the hands of the governors of the states.

There is a resolution pending before the Senate (S. R. No. 171) which, if passed, would put Congress on record as recommending a general amnesty to the President.

—*American Civil Liberties Union.*

APRIL.

Something tapped at my window-pane,
Someone called me without my door,
Someone laughed like the tinkle o' rain,
The robin echoed it o'er and o'er.

I threw the door and the window wide;
Sun and the touch of the breeze and then—
"Oh, *were* you expecting me, dear?" she cried,
And here was April come back again.

—*Theodosia Garrison.*

. . . . . "who would be abreast of thought"

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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES

(Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT:

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism and the Freedom of Women.

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Belgium	Great Britain	Norway
Bulgaria	Hungary	Poland
Canada	India (British)	Sweden
Denmark	Ireland	Switzerland
Finland	Italy	United States

GENERAL OBJECTS:

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS:

Those indicated by the Standing Committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of Constitutional rights, free speech, free press and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant if it is ratified by the United States and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

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All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

Date.....

I hereby enclose one dollar for membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for U. S. A., for the year 1920.

Name..... Address.....

I also enclose $..... as contribution to the work of the organization.

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